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I. An Essay on Plantations. By Sir FRANCIS BACON Lord Chancellor of *England*.

II. Some Passages taken out of the *History of Florence*, &c.

III. A Treatise. By JOHN

DE WITT Pensioner of *Holland*.

IV. The Benefit of Plantations of COLONIES. By WILLIAM PENN.

V. A Discourse concerning Plantations. By Sir JOSIAH CHILD,



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INTRODUCTION.



THE
INTRODUCTION.

NOTHING so much improves the Mind, and directs the Judgment to right Determinations as Experience and the Opinions of wise Men. As new Colonies are now so much talked of, it may be agreeable to the Publick, to see what has been writ upon that Subject by Philosophers, Statesmen, and Merchants, Men of different Professions, living in different Ages and Countreys, who could have no common View in deceiving. To save the Reader therefore the Trouble of hunting their

INTRODUCTION.

Opinions out in many Books, the following Tracts are collected and published.

The first is by one whose great Genius was not only an Ornament to the Nation and Age he lived in, but an Honour to Mankind. It is by Tradition deliver'd down, that he writ his Treatise on Plantations upon the following Occasion.

Sir Walter Raleigh the excellent Historian, Soldier, Statesman, and Philosopher, made many Attempts to settle in America, went twice in Person to Guiana and once to Virginia, the latter of these was granted to him by Queen Elizabeth, who loved great Designs, carried her Views far, and studied the Welfare of England in future Generations as well as in her own Age. Under her Countenance he settled the first Colony in Virginia, so nam'd in Compliment to her Majesty. The Queen died, and with her expired all Encouragement to noble Undertakings. Raleigh not fit for a weak Mixture of timorous and arbitrary Measures was disgraced, condemned, imprisoned; the Plantation neglected, and all Thoughts of America given over by the Court.

But



INTRODUCTION.

*But tho' Sir Walter was destroyed, his Spirit survived *, and " many worthy Patriots, " Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, " and others held Consultation and procured a Patent establishing a Council and " Company, whereby Colonies to Virginia " should be deduced, and the Affairs of " that Plantation should be governed." The Earl of Southampron and Sir Edwin Sandys, among many other very considerable Men, were of that Council, and they being intimate Friends of Sir Francis Bacon, prevailed with him to write Instructions concerning the new Colony. This was afterwards printed amongst his Essays, and is here annexed.*

The next consists of Passages taken out of different Parts of the Florentine Historian. He treats of Colonies as a Politician, and therefore mentions them as they may be useful or prejudicial towards the preserving or increasing the Power of the Prince or State. Being thoroughly conversant with the Ancients, he from the Roman Maxims chalks the Outlines of a Plan for peopling a whole Countrey in a regular Manner, and by that Means remedying the Inconveniencies of Cli-

** See a short Collection of the most remarkable Passages from the Beginning to the Dissolution of the Virginia Company, p. 2. printed 1651.*

INTRODUCTION.

mate, Air, and Soil. He shews the Difference between supporting Conquests by Garrisons of Colonies, and supporting them by mercenary Troops, and just sketches out the only Plan upon which he seems to think they can be successfully founded, viz. Religion, Liberty, good Laws, the Exercise of Arms, and Encouragement of Arts. It is much to be lamented, that he did not write upon this Subject professedly; but only took it up cursorily; this makes him very short, but yet he who reads with Attention will find great Depth in what he writes, and many excellent Things to be learnt.

The third Tract was writ by John De Witt the famous Pensionary of Holland, who being both a Statesman and a Merchant mixes political with trading Considerations. This Piece was first published single, but afterwards some small Additions made and printed in his political Maxims.

The fourth Tract is writ by William Penn Proprietary of Pensilvania. It was printed in the Year 1680, about the Time that he began to settle that Colony, and given amongst his Friends, but never sold; so that the Copies of it are exceeding scarce. These were the Maxims upon which he acted, and which he so successfully pursued, that he peopled the Province

INTRODUCTION.

Province of Pensilvania, where he laid out the City of Philadelphia. “Foreseeing the
“Effects of Justice, Liberty, and wise Re-
“gulations: he formed the Plan to admit
“of great Increase; he chose a Situation be-
“tween two navigable Rivers, and designed
“a Town in Form of an oblong Square, ex-
“tending two Miles in Length from one
“River to the other. The long Streets
“eight in Number, and two Miles in
“Length, he cut at right Angles by others
“of one Mile in Length and sixteen in
“Number, all strait and spacious; he left
“proper Spaces for Markets, Parades, Keys,
“Wharfs, Meeting-houses, Schools, Hospi-
“tals, and other future publick Buildings.
“In the Province there is now eighty Thou-
“sand Inhabitants and in the Town of *Phila-*
“*delphia*, a great Number of Houses. It
“increases every Day in Buildings, which
“are all carried on regularly according to
“the first Plan.

The fifth Tract is a Discourse by Sir Jo-
siah Child. He writ with an excellent In-
tention, that of undeceiving the People, by
exposing several vulgar Errors; the twelfth
of which vulgar Errors, and which in this
Discourse he labours to confute is, “That
“our Plantations depopulate, and conse-
“quently impoverish England.” He did
this

INTRODUCTION

this so effectually, that whereas before he wrote, the generality of the World believed that Plantations depopulated the Kingdom, and consequently strove to hinder them; all wise Men have since the publishing of this Book been undeceived, and the Plantations have been continually encouraged by Parliament, to the great Increase of the Wealth, Trade, and People of the Kingdom.





A N
 E S S A Y
 O N
 P L A N T A T I O N S.
 B Y

Sir FRANCIS BACON *Ld. Verulam.*

PLANTATIONS are amongst Ancient, Primitive, and Heroical Works. When the World was young, it begat more Children; but now it is old it begets fewer: For I may justly account new Plantations to be the Children of former Kingdoms. I like a Plantation in a pure Soil, that is, where People are not displanted, to the end, to plant others; for else it is rather an Extirpation, than a Plantation. Planting of Countries is like planting
 B of

of Woods; for you must make account to lose almost twenty Years profit, and expect your Recompence in the End. For the principal Thing that hath been the Destruction of most Plantations, hath been the base and hasty drawing of Profit in the first Years. It is true, speedy Profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the Plantation, but no farther. It is a shameful and unblest Thing, to take the Scum of People, and wicked condemned Men, to be the People with whom you plant: And not only so, but it spoileth the Plantation; for they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary; and then certify over to their Countrey to the Discredit of the Plantation. The People wherewith you plant, ought to be Gard'ners, Plowmen, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Joiners, Fishermen, Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cooks, and Bakers. In a Countrey of Plantation, first look about what kind of Victual the Countrey yields of it self to hand; as Chesnuts, Wallnuts, Pine-Apples, Olives, Dates, Plumbs, Cherries, Wild-honey, and the like, and make use of them. Then consider what Victual, or esculent Things there are, which grow speedily, and within the Year; as Parsnips, Carrots, Turnips, Onions, Radish, Artichoaks of *Jerusalem*, Maiz, and the like. For Wheat, Barley and Oats, they ask too much labour: But with Pease and Beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for Meat as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise cometh a great Increase, and it is a Kind of Meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of Bisket, Oat-meal, Flour, Meal, and the like in the Beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beasts and Birds, take such as are least subject to Diseases, and multiply fastest; as Swine, Goats, Cocks, Hens, Turkeys, Geese, House-Doves, and the like. The Victual in Plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged Town, that is, with a certain

tain Allowance; and let the main Part of the Ground employed to Gardens or Corn, be to a common Stock, and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in Proportion, besides some Spots of Ground that any particular Person will manure for his own private Use. Consider likewise what Commodities the Soil, where the Plantation is, doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the Charge of the Plantation: So it be not, as was said, to the untimely Prejudice of the main Business; as it hath fared with Tobacco in *Virginia*. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much, and therefore Timber is fit to be one. If there be Iron-Ore, and Streams whereupon to set the Mills, Iron is a brave Commodity where Wood aboundeth. Making of Bay-Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, should be put in Experience. Growing Silk likewise, if any be, is a likely Commodity. Pitch and Tar, where Store of Firs and Pines are, will not fail. So Drugs and Sweet-Woods, where they are, cannot but yield great Profit. Soap-Ashes likewise, and other Things that may be thought of. But moil not too much under Ground; for the Hope of Mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the Planters lazy in other Things. For Government, let it be in the Hands of one assisted with some Counsel; and let them have Commission to exercise martial Laws with some Limitation. And above all, let Men make that Profit of being in the Wilderness, as to have God always, and his Service before their Eyes. Let not the Government of the Plantation depend upon too many Counsellors and Undertakers in the Countrey that planteth, but upon a temperate Number; and let those be rather Noblemen and Gentlemen, than Merchants; for they look ever to the present Gain. Let there be Freedoms from Customs, till the Plantation be of Strength; and not only Freedom from Customs but Freedom to carry their Commodities, where they may make the best of them, except there be some special Cause of Caution.

Cram not in People, by sending too fast, Company after Company, but rather hearken how they waste, and send Supplies proportionably; but so, as the Number may live well in the Plantation, and not by Surcharge be in Penury. It hath been a great endangering to the Health of some Plantations, that they have built along the Sea and Rivers in marshy and unwholesome Grounds. Therefore, tho' you begin there to avoid Carriage and other like Discommodities, yet still build rather upwards from the Streams, than along. It concerneth likewise the Health of the Plantation, that they have good Store of Salt with them, that they may use it with their Viſtuals, when it shall be necessary. *If you plant where Savages are, do not only entertain them with Trifles and Gingles, but use them JUSTLY and graciously,* with sufficient Guard nevertheless; and do not win their Favour by helping them to invade their Enemies, but for their Defence it is not amiss. And send oft of them over to the Countrey that plant, that they may see a better Condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the Plantation grows to Strength, then it is time to plant with Women as well as with Men, that the Plantation may spread into Generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfulness Thing in the World to forsake or destitute a Plantation once in forwardness; for besides the Dishonour, it is Guiltiness of Blood of many miserable Persons.





Some Passages taken out of the History of Florence, Book II.

AMongst the great and admirable Orders of former Kingdoms and Common-wealths (tho' in our Times it is discontinued and lost) it was the Custom upon every Occasion to establish Colonies and build new Towns and Cities; and indeed nothing is more worthy and becoming an excellent Prince, a well dispos'd Common-wealth, nor more for the Interest and Advantage of a Province, than to erect new Towns, where Men may cohabit with more Convenience both for Agriculture and Defence. For besides the Beauty and Ornament which followed upon that Custom, it render'd such Provinces as were conquer'd more dutiful and secure to the Conqueror, planted the void Places, and made a commodious Distribution of the People; upon which living regularly and in Order, they did not only multiply faster, but were more ready to invade, and more able for Defence. But by the Negligence and Omission of Common-wealths and Principalities this Method of establishing Colonies being at present disused, the Provinces are become weaker and some of them ruined. For (as I said before) it is this Order alone that secures a Countrey and supply's it with People. The Security consists in this, that in a new Countrey a Colony placed by Authority, is a Fortrefs and Guard to keep the Natives in Obedience; neither without this can a Province

2

continue

continue inhabited, or preserve a just Distribution of the People, because all Places being not equally fertile or healthful, where it is barren they desert; where unwholsome they die; and unless there be some Way to invite or dispose new Men to the one as well as the other, that Province must fail; the abandoning some Places leaving them desolate and weak, and the thronging to others, making them indigent and poor. And forasmuch as these inconveniencies are not to be remedied by Nature, Art and Industry is to be applied; and we see many Countries which are naturally unhealthful, much better'd by the Multitude of Inhabitants; the Earth being purifi'd by their Tillage, and the Air by their Fires, which Nature alone could never have effected. Of this *Venice* is an Instance sufficient; for tho' seated in a sickly and watrish Place, the Concourse of so many People at one Time made it healthful enough. *Pisa* by reason of the Malignity of the Air was very ill inhabited till the Inhabitants of *Genoa* and its Territories, being defeated and dispossessed by the *Saracens*, it followed that being supplanted all of them at once, and repairing thither in such Numbers, that Town in a short Time became populous and potent. But the Custom of sending Colonies being laid aside, new Conquests are not so easily kept, void Places not so easily supplied; nor full and exuberant Places so easily evacuated. Whereupon many Places in the World, and particularly in *Italy*, are become desolate and deserted in respect of what in former Ages they have been, which is imputable to nothing but that Princes do not retain their ancient Appetite of true Glory, nor Commonwealths the laudable Customs of the Ancients.

The

The PRINCE.

CHAP. III. *Speaking of the Methods by which distant Provinces may be kept in Subjection, he says,*

THERE is another Remedy rather better than worse, and that is to plant *Colonies* in one or two Places, which may be as it were the Keys of that State, and either that must be done, or of Necessity an Army of Horse and Foot be maintain'd in those Parts, which is much worse; for Colonies are of no great Expence; the Prince sends and maintains them at a very little Charge, and intrenches only upon such as he is constrained to dispossess of their Houses and Land for the Subsistence and Accommodation of the new Inhabitants, who are but few, and a small Part of the State; they also who are injured and offended, living dispersed and in Poverty, cannot do any Mischief, and the rest being quiet and undisturbed, will not stir, lest they should mistake, and run themselves into the same Condition with their Neighbours.

I conclude likewise, that those Colonies which are least chargeable, are most faithful and inoffensive, and those few who are offended are too poor and dispersed, to do any hurt, as I said before.----- But if instead of Colonies an Army be kept on foot it will be much more expensive, and the whole Revenue of that Province being consumed in the keeping it, the Acquisition will be a Loss, and rather a Prejudice than otherwise.——In all Respects therefore, this Kind of Guard is unprofitable, whereas on the other Side Colonies are useful.——The *Romans* in their new Conquests observ'd this Course, they planted their Colonies, entertained the inferior Lords into their Protection without increasing their

their Power, they kept under such as were more potent, and would not suffer any Foreign Prince to have Interest among them.

CHAP. X. *In the following Paragraph, he gives an Example from the Germans how Cities or COLONIES may be safe, where the Friendship of the neighbouring Inhabitants is doubtful.*

THE Towns in *Germany* are many of them safe, tho' their Countrey and District be but small.—Because they are all so well fortified, every one looks upon the taking of any one of them as a Work of great Difficulty and Time, their Walls being so strong, their Ditches so deep, their Works so regular, and well provided with Cannon, and their Stores and Magazines always furnished for a Twelvemonth. Besides which, for the Aliment and Sustenance of the People, and that they may be no Burthen to the Publick, they have Work-houses, where for a Year together the Poor may be employed in such Things as are the Nerves and Life of that City, and sustain themselves by their Labour. Military Discipline and Exercises are likewise in much request there, and many Laws and good Customs they have to maintain them.



DIS-

DISCOURSES *upon* TITUS
LIVIVS. Book I. Chap. I.

ALL Cities are built either by Natives born in the Countrey where they were erected, or by Strangers. The first happens when, to the Inhabitants dispersed in many and little Parties, it appears their Habitation is insecure, not being able apart (by Reason of their Distance or Smallness of their Numbers) to resist an Invasion (if any Enemy should fall upon them) or to unite suddenly for their Defence without leaving their Houses and Families exposed, which by Consequence would be certain Prey to the Enemy. Whereupon to evade those Dangers, moved either by their own Impulse, or the Suggestions of some Person among them of more than ordinary Authority, they oblige themselves to live together in some Place to be choien by them for Convenience of Provision and Easiness of Defence.—The second Case, when a City is raised by Strangers, it is done either by People that are free, or by those who are depending (as Colonies) or else by some Prince or Republick to ease and disburthen themselves of their Exuberance, or to defend some Territory, which being newly acquired, they desire with more Safety and less Expence to maintain of which Sort of Colonies several were built by the People of *Rome* all over their Empire— And because Men build as often by Necessity as Choice, the Judgment and Wisdom of the Builder is greater where there is less Room and Latitude for his Election; it is worthy our Consideration, whether it is more advantageous building in barren and unfruitful Places, to the end that the People being constrain'd to be industrious, and less obnoxious to Idleness might live in more

Unity, the Poverty of the Soil giving them less Opportunity of Dissension. Thus it fell out in *Raugia*, and several other Cities built in such Places; and that Kind of Election would doubtless be most prudent and profitable, if Men could be content to live quietly of what they had, without an ambitious Desire of Command. But there being no Security against that, but Power, it is necessary to avoid that Sterility, and build in the fruitfulest Places can be found, where their Numbers increasing by the Plentifulness of the Soil, they may be able not only to defend themselves against an Assault; but repel any Opposition shall be made to their Grandeur: And as to that Idleness to which the Richness of the Situation disposes, it may be provided against by Laws and convenient Exercise joined, according to the Example of several wise Men, who having inhabited Countreys pleasant, fruitful, and apt to produce such lazy People improper for Service; to prevent the Inconvenience which might follow thereupon, enjoined such a Necessity of Exercise to such as were intended for the Wars, that by Degrees they became better Soldiers than those Countreys which were mountainous and barren could any where produce. Among whom may be reckoned the Kingdom of *Egypt*, which notwithstanding that it was extremely pleasant and plentiful, by the Virtue and Efficacy of its Laws, produced excellent Men, and perhaps such, as had not their Names been extinguished with Time, might have deserved as much Honour as *Alexander* the Great, and many other great Captains whose Memories are so fresh and so venerable among us. And whoever would consider the Government of the *Soldan*, the Discipline of the *Mamalukes*, and the rest of their Militia before they were extirpated by *Selimus* the Turk, might find their great Prudence and Caution in exercising their Soldiers, and preventing that Softness and Effeminacy to which the Felicity of their Soil did so naturally incline them.

For

For these Reasons I conceive best to build in a fruitful Place, if the ill Consequences of that Fertility be averted by convenient Laws. *Alexander* the Great being desirous to build a City to perpetuate his Name, *Dinocrates* an Architect came to him, and undertook to build him one upon the Mountain *Athos*, and to recommend and enforce his Proposal besides the Goodness of the Soil he persuaded him it should be made in the Shape and Figure of a Man a Thing which would be new, wonderful and suitable to his Greatness. But when *Alexander* enquired whence it was to be supplied, the Architect replied he had not consider'd of that; at which *Alexander* laugh'd very heartily, and leaving him and his Mountain to themselves, he built *Alexandria*, where People might be tempted to plant by the Richness of the Soil, the nearness of the Sea, and Convenience of the River *Nile*.

C H A P. X.

AMong all excellent and illustrious Men, they are most Praise-worthy who have been the chief Establishers of Religion and of the Worship of the Deity. In the second Place are they who have laid the Foundations of any Kingdom or City; in the third, those who having the Command of great Armies have enlarged their own or the Dominion of their Countrey; in the next Place learned Men of all Sciences, according to their several Studies and Degrees; and last of all (as being infinitely the greatest Number) come the Artificers and Mechanics; all to be commended as they are ingenious or skillful in their Professions. On the other Side they are infamous and detestable, who are contemners of Religion, Subverters of Governments, Enemies of Virtue, of Learning, of Art, and in short of every Thing that is useful and honourable to Mankind; and of this Sort are the Prophane, the Seditious, the Ignorant, the Idle, the Debauch'd,

and the Vile. And altho' Nature has so order'd it, that there is neither wise Man nor Fool, nor good Man, nor bad, who if it were propos'd to him which he would chuse of these two Sorts of People, wou'd not prefer that which was to be preferr'd, and condemn the other; yet the Generality of Mankind deluded by a false Impression of Good, and vain Notion of Glory, leaving those Ways which are excellent and commendable, either wilfully or ignorantly wander into those Paths which lead them to Dishonour; and whereas to their immortal Honour they might establish a Commonwealth or Kingdom as they please, they run headlong into a Tyranny, not considering what Fame, what Glory, what Affection, what Security, what Quiet and Satisfaction of Mind they part with; nor what Reproach, Scandal, Hate, Danger and Disquiet they incur. It is impossible but all People (whether of private Condition in the Common-wealth, or such as by their Fortune or Virtue have arriv'd to be Princes) if they have any Knowledge in History, and the Passages of old, would rather chuse (if private Persons) to be *Scipios* than *Cæsars*: and (if Princes) to be *Agamemnon*, *Timoleon* and *Dion*, than *Nabis*, *Phalaris*, or *Dionysius*; because they must find one highly celebrated and admired, and the other as much abhor'd and condemn'd; they must find *Timoleon* and the rest to have as much Interest and Authority in their Countries as *Dionysius* or *Phalaris* had in theirs, and much more Security. Nor let any Man deceive himself in *Cæsar's* Reputation, finding him so exceedingly eminent in History, for those who have cry'd him up, were either corrupted by his Fortune, or terrified by his Power, for whilst the Empire continued, it was never permitted that any Man should speak any Thing against him, and doubtless had Writers had their Liberty they could have said as much of him as of *Cataline*; and *Cæsar* is so much the worse of the two; by how much it is worse to effect and perpetrate an ill Thing, than to design it;

C H A P.

CHAP. XI.

HE that would establish a virtuous City at this Day, would find it more easy among the rude People of the Mountains, who have not been acquainted with Civility, than among such as have been educated in Cities, where their Civility was corrupted; like rude unpolish'd Marble, which is more readily carved into a Statue, than what has been mangled already by some bungling Workman. So that all Things consider'd, I conclude that Religion being introduced by *Numa*, was one of the first Causes of that City's Felicity, because Religion produced good Laws, good Laws good Fortune, and good Fortune a good End in whatever they undertook. And as strictness in divine Worship, and Conscience of Oaths, are great Helps to the Advancement of a State, so Contempt of the one and Neglect of the other are great Means of its Destruction. Take away Religion, and take away the Foundation of Government.

CHAP. XXI. *The Author in the following Passage proves, that any Kind of Men may be made Soldiers; from whence may be drawn, that there is no need of having regular Soldiers, if the Men who form a COLONY be disciplin'd.*

THERE is scarce any Body ignorant, that of late Years the *English* invaded *France*, and entertain'd no Soldiers but their own; and yet tho' *England* had had no Wars of thirty Years before, and had neither Officer nor Soldier who had ever seen a Battle, they ventured to attack a Kingdom, where the Officers were excellent, the Soldiers
good

good, having been trained up for several Years together in the *Italian Wars*. This proceeded from the Prudence of the Prince, and the Excellence of the Government, in which (though in Times of Peace the Exercise of Arms is not intermitted. *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* having relieved *Thebes*, and rescued it from the Tyranny of the *Spartans*, finding themselves in the Middle of a servile and effeminate People, they so order'd it by their Virtue and Discipline, that they brought them to the Use of Arms, took the Field with them against the *Spartans*, and overthrew them. From whence that Historian infers, that there are Soldiers not only in *Lacedemon*, but wherever there are Men, if there be any Body to exercise and train them; which *Tullus* perform'd most exquisitely among the *Romans*, as is most excellently express'd by *Virgil*, in these Words;

— *Desidesque movebit*
Tullus in arma viros.

BOOK II. CHAP VI.

WE shall now speak of the *Roman Customs*, —by which it will appear with what Wisdom they deviated from the common Ways of the World, and by what easy Methods they arriv'd at their Supremacy and Grandeur. He who makes War at his own Choice and is under no Constraint, or else by Ambition has doubtless this End, to get what he is able, and keep it whilst he can, and rather to enrich than impoverish his own Countrey: For such a one it is necessary to have Regard to his Charge, and to see that neither the conquering nor maintaining are more expensive to him than will consist with his Revenue.—And whoever consider their Wars from the Beginning of *Rome* to the Siege of the *Vei*, will find that they were determined in a very short Time, some in six, some in ten

ten, and some in twenty Days. For their Custom was upon the first Appearance of a War, immediately to draw out their Army, and seeking out the Enemy they did what they could to bring him to a Battle. Having beaten him by Reason of the Surprise; the Enemy, that his Countrey might not wholly be harrafs'd, for the most Part proposed an Agreement, in which the *Romans* were sure to insist upon some Part of their Territory; which either they converted to their particular Profit, or consigned to some *Colony*, which was to be placed there for the Security of their Frontiers; by which means the Wars being ended in a short Time, their Conquests were kept without any considerable Expence; for the *Colony* had that Countrey for their Pay, and the *Romans* had their *Colonies* for their Security. Nor could there be any Way more advantageous and safe; for whilst there was no Enemy in the Field, those Guards were sufficient; and when any Army was set out to disturb them, the *Romans* were always ready with another in their Defence, and having fought them, they commonly prevail'd, forced them to harder Conditions, and return'd when they had done: by which Means they gain'd daily upon the Enemy, and grew more powerful at Home: And in this Manner they proceeded till their League before *Veij*.—From that Time they maintain'd War at greater Distance, whereby they were obliged to continue longer in the Field, yet they left not their old Custom of dispatching it as soon as they could, with respect to the Circumstances of Place and Time; for which Reason they continued their *Colonies*.—And then for continuing their *Colonies*; the great Advantage and Convenience that resulted from them, was sufficient to prevail. This Practice therefore was observed perpetually among the *Romans* in the Management of their Wars, only they varied something about the Distribution of the Prey.—They thought convenient, that the Publick should have its Share; that upon any new Enterprize

terprize they might not be constrain'd to lay new Taxes upon the People; and by this Way their Coffers were fill'd in a short Time. So that by these two Ways, by the Distribution of their Prey, and the Settling of *Colonies* Rome grew rich by its Wars, whereas other Princes and States (without great Discretion) grow poor.

CHAP. VII. *What Proportion of Land the Romans allow'd to every Man in their COLONIES.*

I Think it no easy Matter to set down the exact Proportion of Land which the *Romans* assign'd to every single Person in their *Colonies*; for I believe they gave more or less, according to the Barrenness or Fertility of the Soil; and that in all Places they were sparing enough. And the first Reason that induces me, is, that thereby they might send more Men, and by Consequence their Frontiers be better guarded: Another is, because living at Home indigent themselves, it is not to be supposed they would suffer those whom they sent abroad to grow too opulent and rich: And in this I am much confirm'd by *Livy*, where he tells us that upon the taking of *Veij*, the *Romans* sent a *Colony* thither, and in the Distribution of the Land allotted every Man no more than three Acres, and a little more according to our Measure. They might consider likewise that their Wants would not be supplied by the Quantity so much as the Improvement and Cultivation of their Land. Yet I do not doubt but they had publick Pastures and Woods to sustain their Cattle, and supply themselves with firing, without which a *Colony* could hardly subsist.

CHAP. XIX.

THESE false Opinions are so rooted in the Minds of Men, and so confirm'd with ill Examples, that no Body thinks of reforming our late Errors, or restoring the old Discipline of the *Romans*. — Which if Princes and Commonwealths could be persuaded to believe, they would commit fewer Faults, be more strong against the Insults of the Enemy, and those who had the Government of any civil State, would know better how to conduct and manage themselves, either as to the Enlargement, or Conservation of their Dominion, and find, that Leagues and Confederacies, rather than absolute Conquests; sending *Colonies* into what they had conquer'd; making publick Funds of the Spoils of the Enemy; to infest and perplex the Enemy rather with Excursions, and Battles, than Sieges; to keep the Publick rich, and the Private poor, and with all possible Caution to keep up a well Disciplined and orderly Militia are the Ways to make a Commonwealth formidable and great.



A

T R E A T I S E

Proving that it would be very advantageous for the Rulers and People of Holland, and for Traffick and Commerce, as well as Navigation, to erect Dutch COLONIES in Foreign Countries. By John De Witt, Pensioner of Holland.

Supposing all the Expedients which the wisest of Men could invent to attract or allure Foreigners to become Inhabitants of *Holland* were practised, and those Inhabitants made to subsist by due Administration of Justice, yet would there be found in *Holland* many old and new Inhabitants, who for want of Estate and Credit, live very uneasily, and therefore would desire to remove thence. It is evident first as to Persons and Estates, that the Inhabitants here are not only exposed to the ordinary Misfortunes of Mankind, of not foreseeing future Events, Weakness, and Want; but besides, they make very uncertain Profit by Manufactures, Fishing, Trading, and Shipping. And on the other side by Sickness, Wars, Piracies, Rocks, Sands, Storms, and Bankrupts, or by the Unfaithfulness of their own Masters of Ships they may lose the greatest Part of their Estates, whilst in the Interim they continue charged with the natural Burdens of *Holland*, as great House-Rent, Imposts, and Taxes; nor have they any reformed Cloisters to provide creditable Opportunities for discharging themselves by such Losses of maintaining their Children, or according to the Proverb to turn Soldier or Monk; so that by such Accidents falling into extreme Poverty, they consequently

consequently lose their Credit and Respect among Men: For to have been Rich is a double Poverty, and nothing is less regarded than a poor Man's Wisdom; In such Cases he would find himself in the most lamentable Condition that can befall a Man in this World.

And secondly, as to Reputation: It is well known that in this Republick the Government consists of very few Men in Proportion to the Number of Inhabitants; And that the said Government is not by Law annexed or restrained to any certain Family, but is open to all the Inhabitants; so that they who have been eight or ten Years Burgers, may be chosen to the Government in most Cities, and have the most eminent Employments of *Scheepen* or Burgomaster. Whence we may infer, that many that were of the Offspring of those that were heretofore made use of in the Government, and also many others, who by reason of their ancient Stock, and great Skill in Polity and extraordinary Riches, thro' natural Self-love and Ambition, conceive themselves wronged, when other new Ones of less Fitness and Estate, are chosen to the Government before them; and therefore thinking themselves undervalued, seek a Change, and would be induced to transport themselves to other Countries, where their Qualifications, great Estate, and Ambition, might produce very good Effects. Whereas on the other Side, whilst they continue to dwell in these Lands, they speak ill of the Government and Rulers in particular. And if by this or any other Accident, Tumults should be occasioned against the Rulers in particular, or the Government itself, they, being Persons of Quality, might become the Leaders of the Seditious, who to obtain their End, and to have such Insurrections tend to their Advantage, would not rest till they had displaced and turned out the lawful Rulers, and put themselves in their Places, which is one of the saddest Calamities that can befall the Republick, or Cities: Seeing Rulers who

became such by Mutiny, are always the Cause of horrible Enormities before they attain the Government, and must commit many Cruelties e'er they can fix themselves on the Bench of Magistracy.

And seeing we have already made many Conquests of Countries in *India*, and finding how hardly (and that with great Charge of Soldiers) they must be kept; and that *the Politicians of old have taught us, that there is no better Means, especially for a State which depends on Merchandize and Navigation, to preserve Foreign Conquests, than by settling COLONIES in them:* We may easily conclude, that the same Method would be very useful and expedient for our State.

Thirdly, it is well known, that the poorest People of all the Countries round about us, come to dwell in *Holland* in Hope of earning their Living by Manufactory, Fisheries, Navigation, and other Trades; or failing that, that they shall have the Benefit of Alms-Houses and Hospitals, where they will be better provided for than in their own Country. And altho' in this Manner very many poor People have been maintained; yet in bad Times it could not last long; but thence might easily arise a general Uproar, with the Plunder and Subversion of the whole State: To prevent which, and other the like Mischiefs, and to give discontented Persons and Men in Straits an open Way, the Republicks of *Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, Greece, and Rome, &c.* in ancient Times, having special Regard to the true Interest of Republicks, which were perfectly founded on Traffick, or Conquests of Lands, did not neglect to erect many Colonies: Yea even the Kings of *Spain, Portugal, and England, &c.* have lately very profitably erected divers Colonies, and continue so doing in remote and uncultivated Countries; which formerly added an incredible Strength, to those ancient Republicks, and do still to *Spain, Portugal, and England, &c.* producing besides their Strength the greatest Traffick and Navigation. So
that

that it is a wonderful Thing that *Holland* having these old and new Examples before their Eyes; and besides by its natural great Wants, and very great Sums of Money given yearly for Charity to poor Inhabitants, and being yearly press'd by so many broken Estates, and want of greater Traffick and Navigation, hath not hitherto made any free *Colonies* for the Inhabitants of *Holland*; tho' we by our Shipping have discovered and navigated many fruitful uninhabited, and unmanured Countries, where if *Colonies* were erected, they might be free, and yet subject to the Lords the States of *Holland*, as all the open Countries and Cities that have no Votes amongst us are; and it might cause an incredible great and certain Traffick and Navigation with the Inhabitants of *Holland*.

It is well worth Observation, that these Colonies would no less strengthen the Treasure and Power of the States in Peace and War, than they do those of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *England*, which during the manifold intestine Dissensions and Revolutions of State, have always adhered to their ancient native Country against their Enemies. And by this Means also many ambitious and discontented Inhabitants of *Holland* might conveniently *sub Specie honoris*, be gratified, by having some Authority in and about the Government of the said *Colonies*. But some may object, that heretofore the Rulers of *Holland* in the respective Grants or Charters given to the East and *West-India* Companies, have given them alone the Power of navigating their Districts, with Exclusion of all other Inhabitants, which extend so far, that out of them the whole World hath now no fruitful uninhabited Lands, where we might erect new *Colonies*; and that those Districts are so far spread, because our Rulers trusted, that the said Companies could, and would propagate and advance such *Colonies*: Tho' supposing those *Colonies* must indeed in Speculation be acknowledged singularly profitable for this State, yet nevertheless those respective Districts

Districts and Limits Bounds of the said Companies, were purposely extended so far by the States General, and especially by the States of *Holland*, effectually to hinder the making of those Colonies, since our Nation is naturally averse to Husbandry, and utterly unfit to plant Colonies, and ever inclined to merchandizing.

To which I answer, that it's likely the first Grants or Charters, both of the East and West, and other copious Districts, were probably made upon mature Deliberation; but that the Rulers perceiving afterwards how very few Countries the said Companies do traffick with, and what a vast many Countries and Sea-Ports in their Districts remain without Traffick or Navigation, they cannot be excused of too great Imprudence in that they have, notwithstanding the Continuance of such Districts to this Day, kept their common trading Inhabitants, consisting of so great Numbers, from those uninhabited Countries by our Companies: So that by Reason of the Want of trafficking Countries or new Colonies in little *Europe* and its Confines, the *Hollanders* are necessitated to overstock all Trade and Navigation, and to spoil and ruin them both, to the great Prejudice of such Merchants and Owners of Ships on whom it falls, altho' *Holland*, during that Time of their Trades being overstock'd had a greater Commerce, and deterred the Traders of other Countries from that Traffick, which the *Hollanders* with the first Appearance of Gain do, and must reassume, if they will continue to live in *Holland*; where all Manner of Foreign Trade since the erecting the said Companies was necessitated to be driven, notwithstanding the Uncertainty of Gain, and Fear of over-trading our selves.

And that the said Companies neither have nor do endeavour to make new Colonies for the Benefit of the Lands, and the Inhabitants thereof, hath hitherto abundantly appeared, and we must not lightly believe that they will do otherwise for the future;
which

which I suppose will also appear, if we consider, that the Directors from whom this should proceed, are advanced and privately sworn to promote the Benefit of the Subscribers of the respective Companies; so that if the Colonies should not tend to the Benefit of the Subscribers in general, we cannot expect the Companies should promote them. Yea, supposing such Colonies should tend to the greatest Profit of the said Subscribers in general, yet such is the common Corruption of Man, that those Plantations should not be erected unless such Directors or Governors can make their own Advantage by them.

And seeing all new Colonies in unmanured Countries, must for some Years together have Necessaries carried to them, till such Plantations can maintain themselves out of their own Product, begin to trade and go to Sea, and then there is some small Duty imposed on the Planters and their Traffick, or Navigation, whereby the Undertakers may be reimbursed: Yet the Partners having expended so much, are not assured, that their Grant or Lease of Years shall be prolonged and continued to them on the same Terms. Moreover, in regard of these new Colonies, the Directors ought therefore to have less Salary, seeing by this free Trade of the Planters and Inhabitants, they may be eased of the great Pains they take about their general Traffick and Equipage of Ships, which concerns them much in particular for many considerable Reasons not here to be mention'd.

And as concerning our People in the East and West, they being hitherto of so loose a Life, are so wasteful, expensive, and lazy, that it may thence seem to be concluded, that the Nation of *Holland* is naturally and wholly unfit for new Colonies; yet I dare venture to say it is not so: But certain it is, that the Directors of the said Companies their Mariners and Soldiers, and likewise their other Servants are hired on such strait-laced and severe Terms, and they require of them such multitude of Oaths,

Oaths, importing the Penalty of the Loss of all their Wages and Estate, that very few Inhabitants of *Holland*, unless out of mere Necessity, or some poor ignorant slavish-minded and debauched Foreigners, will offer themselves to that hard Servitude. It is also true that all such as are in the *Indies*, especially the *East-Indies*, do find that not only while they serve, but after they have served their Time for which they are bound, they are under an intollerable compulsive Slavery; insomuch, that none can thrive there but their great Officers, who being placed over them, to exact the Oaths of the Mercenaries or Hirelings, and to put in Execution the Companies Commands, and being without Controul, to accuse or check them, they commonly favour one another, and afterwards coming Home with great Treasures are in Fear that they will be seized and confiscated by the Directors. So that it is no Wonder that so few good, and so many ignorant, lazy, prodigal, and vicious People take Service of the *East-India* Company. But it is doubly to be admired, that any intelligent, frugal, diligent, and virtuous People, especially *Hollanders*, unless driven by extreme Necessity, should give up themselves to that slavish Servitude.

All which being true, let none think it strange, that the Scum of *Holland* and of most other Nations having by their Service become Freemen there, and yet not permitted to drive any Trade by Sea, or with Foreign People, are very unfit, and have no Inclination at all to those forced Colonies, do always thirst after their own sweet and free native Countries of *Holland*: Whereas notwithstanding on the contrary, the ingenious, frugal, industrious *Hollanders*, by those Virtues which are almost peculiar to them, are more fit than any Nation in the World to erect Colonies and to live on them, when they have the Liberty given them to manure them for their own Livelihoods. And those that doubt thereof, let them please to observe, that the *Hollanders* before
and

and since these two licens'd Companies, even under Foreign Princes, have made very many new Colonies; namely, in *Lyfland*, *Prussia*, *Brandenburgh*, *Pomerania*, *Denmark*, *Sleswick*, *France*, *England*, *Flanders*, &c. and moreover have not only manured unfruitful unplanted Lands, but also undertaken the chargeable and hazardous Task of draining of Fenlands. And it is observable that in all the said Places their Butter, Cheese, Fruits, and Product of the Earth, are more desired, and esteemed than those of their Neighbours. And if we farther observe, that no Countries in the World, whether the Land be for Breeding, or Feeding, are so well order'd as those of our plain Lands in *Holland*; and that no others, Boors or Husbandmen, do travel so many Countries as ours do; we shall be convinced, that no Nation under Heaven is so fit for setting up of new Colonies, and manuring of Ground as our People are. And if in our Nation there is also to be found (which however is unjustly and unwisely denied by the Opposers of these new *Holland Colonies*) a very great Aptness and Inclination to Merchandising and Navigation, then we may in all Respects believe, that we under our own free Government might erect very excellent Colonies when it shall please the State to begin and encourage the same on good Foundations, and to indulge them for a short Time with their Favour and Defence.





The Benefit of Plantations, or Co-
LONIES. By William Penn.

COLONIES are the Seeds of Nations, begun and nourish'd by the Care of wise and populous Countries; as conceiving them best for the Increase of humane Stock, and beneficial for Commerce.

Some of the wisest Men in History, have justly taken their Fame from this Design and Service: We read of the Reputation given on this Account to *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Caleb*, in Scripture Records; and what Renown the *Greek* Story yields to *Lycurgus*, *Theseus*, and those *Greeks* that planted many Parts of *Asia*. Nor is the *Roman* Account wanting of Instances to the Credit of that People; they had a *Romulus*, a *Numa Pompilius*; and not only reduc'd, but moraliz'd the Manners of the Nations they subjected; so that they may have been rather said to conquer their Barbarity than them.

Nor did any of these ever dream it was the Way of decreasing their People or Wealth: For the Cause of the Decay of any of those States or Empires was not their Plantations, but their Luxury and Corruption of Manners: For when they grew to neglect their ancient Discipline that maintain'd and rewarded Virtue and Industry, and addicted themselves to Pleasure and Effeminacy, they debased their Spirits and debauch'd their Morals, from whence Ruin did never fail to follow to any People. With Justice therefore I deny the vulgar Opinion against Plantations, that they weaken *England*; they have manifestly enrich'd, and so strengthen'd her, which I briefly evidence thus.

First.

First, Those that go into a Foreign Plantation, their Industry there is worth more than if they stay'd at Home, the Product of their Labour being in Commodities of a superiour Nature to those of this Countrey. For Instance, what is an improv'd Acre in *Jamaica* or *Barbadoes* worth to an improv'd Acre in *England*? We know 'tis three times the Value, and the Product of it comes for *England*, and is usually paid for in *English* Growth and Manufacture. Nay, *Virginia* shews, that an ordinary Industry in one Man produces three Thousand Pound Weight of Tobacco, and twenty Barrels of Corn yearly: He feeds himself, and brings as much of Commodity into *England* besides, as being return'd in the Growth and Workmanship of this Countrey, is much more than he could have spent here: Let it also be remembered, that the three Thousand Weight of Tobacco brings in two Thousand Two-pences by Way of Custom to the King, which makes twenty-five Pounds; an extraordinary Profit.

Secondly, More being produc'd and imported than we can spend here, we export it to other Countries in *Europe*, which brings in Money, or the Growth of those Countries, which is the same Thing; and this is the Advantage of the *English* Merchants and Seamen.

Thirdly, Such as could not only not marry here, but hardly live and allow themselves Cloaths, do marry there and bestow thrice more in all Necessaries and Conveniencies (and not a little in ornamental Things too) for themselves, their Wives and Children, both as to apparel and household Stuff; which coming out of *England*, I say 'tis impossible that *England* should not be a considerable Gainer.

Fourthly, But let it be consider'd, that the Plantations imploy many Hundreds of Shipping, and many Thousands of Seamen; which must be in divers Respects an Advantage to *England*, being an Island, and by Nature fitted for Navigation above any Countrey in *Europe*. This is follow'd by other depending Trades, as Shipwrights, Carpenters, Saw-

yers, Hewers, Trunnel-makers, Joiners, Slop-sellers, Dry-salters, Iron-workers, the East-land Merchants, Timber-sellers, and Victuallers, with many more Trades which hang upon Navigation: So that we may easily see the Objection (that the *Colonies* or Plantations hurt *England*) is at least of no Strength, especially if we consider how many Thousand *Blacks* and *Indians* are also accommodated with Cloaths and many Sorts of Tools and Utenils from *England*, and that their Labour is mostly brought hither, which adds Wealth and People to the *English* Dominions. But 'tis further said, they injure *England*, in that they draw away too many of the People; for we are not so populous in the Countries as formerly. I say there are other Reasons for that.

First, Countrey People are so extremely addicted to put their Children into Gentlemens Service, or send them to Towns to learn Trades, that Husbandry is neglected; and after a soft and delicate Usage there, they are for ever unfitted for the Labour of a farming Life.

Secondly, The Pride of the Age in its Attendance and Retinue is so gross and universal, that where a Man of a Thousand Pounds a Year formerly kept but four or five Servants, he now keeps more than twice the Number; he must have a Gentleman to wait upon him in his Chambers, a Coachman, a Groom or two, a Butler, a Man Cook, a Gardner, two or three Lacques, it may be an Huntsman, and a Faulkner; the Wife a Gentlewoman and Maids accordingly: This was not known by our Ancestors of like Quality. This hinders the Plough and the Dairy from whence they are taken, and instead of keeping People to manly Labour, they are effeminated by a lazy and luxurious Living; but which is worse, these People rarely marry, tho' many of them do worse; but if they do, it is when they are in Age; and the Reason is clear, because their usual keeping at their Masters is too great and costly for them with a Family at their own Charge, and they scarcely know how to live lower; so that too many
of

of them chuse rather to vend their Lusts at an evil Ordinary than honestly marry and work. The Excess and Sloth of the Age not allowing of Marriage, and the Charge that follows; all which hinders the Increase of our People. If Men, they often turn Soldiers, or Gamesters, or Highwaymen; if Women, they too frequently dress themselves for a bad Market, rather than know the Dairy again, or honestly return to Labour; whereby it happens that both the Stock of the Nation decays, and the Issue is corrupted.

Thirdly, Of old Time the Nobility and Gentry spent their Estates in the Countrey, and that kept the People in it: And their Servants married and sat at easy Rents under their Masters Favour, which peopled the Place: Now the great Men (too much loving the Town and resorting to *London*) draw many People thither to attend them, who either don't marry, or if they do, they pine away their small Gains in some petty Shop; for there are so many, they prey upon one another.

Fourthly, The Countrey thus neglected, and no due Ballance kept between Trade and Husbandry, City and Countrey, the poor Countrey man takes double Toil, and cannot (for Want of Hands) dress and manure his Land to the Advantage it formerly yielded him; yet must he pay the old Rents, which occasions Servants, and such Children as go to Trades, to continue single, at least all their youthful Time, which also obstructs the Increase of our People.

Fifthly, The Decay of some Countrey Manufactures (where no Provision is made to supply the People with a new Way of Living) causes the more Industrious to go abroad to seek their Bread in other Countries, and gives the lazy an Occasion to loiter and beg, or do worse; by which Means the Land swarms with Beggars. Formerly 'twas rare to find any asking Alms but the Maim'd or Blind, or very aged; now Thousands of both Sexes run up and down, both City and Countrey, that are sound and youthful, and able to work, with false *Pretences* and

Certi-

30 WILLIAM PENN, &c.

Certificates; nor is there any Care taken to employ or deter such *Vagrants*, which weakens the Countrey as to People and Labour.

To which let me add, that the great Debauchery in this Kingdom has not only render'd many unfruitful when married, but they live not out half their Time, through Excesses, which might be prevented by a vigorous Execution of our good Laws against Corruption of Manners. These and the like Evils are the true Grounds of the Decay of our People in the Countrey, to say nothing of Plague and Wars. Towns and Cities cannot complain of the Decay of People, being more replenish'd than ever, especially *London*, which with Reason helps the Countrey-Man to this Objection. And tho' some do go to the Plantations, yet numbering the Parishes in *England*, and computing how many live more than die, and are born than buried, there goes not over to all the Plantations a fourth Part of the yearly Increase of the People; and when they are there, they are not (as I said before) lost to *England*, since they furnish them with much Cloaths, Household-stuff, Tools, and the like Necessaries, and that in greater Quantities than here their Condition could have needed, or they could have bought; being there well to pass, that were but low here, if not poor; and now Masters of Families too, when here they had none, and could hardly keep themselves; and very often it happens that some of them after their Industry and Success there have made them wealthy, they return and empty their Riches into *England*, one in this Capacity being able to buy out twenty of what he was when he went over.





A Discourse concerning Plantations.

By Sir JOSIAH CHILD, Publish-
ed 1692.

THE Trade of our *English* Plantations in *America* being now of as great Bulk, and employing as much Shipping as most of the Trades of this Kingdom, it seems not unnecessary to discourse more at large concerning the Nature of Plantations, and the good or evil Consequences of them, in Relation to this and other Kingdoms; and the rather because some Gentlemen of no mean Capacities, are of Opinion, that his Majesty's Plantations abroad have very much prejudic'd this Kingdom, by draining us of our People; for the Confirmation of which Opinion they urge the Example of *Spain*, which they say is almost ruin'd by the Depopulation which the *West-Indies* hath occasion'd. To the End therefore a more particular Scrutiny may be made in this Matter, I shall humbly offer my Opinion in the following Propositions, and then give those Reasons of Probability which presently occur to my Memory, in Confirmation of each Proposition.

First, I agree that Land (tho' excellent) without Hands proportionable, will not enrich any Kingdom.

Secondly, That whatever tends to the depopulating of a Kingdom, tends to the Impoverishment of it.

Thirdly, That most Nations in the civiliz'd Parts of the World, are more or less rich or poor proportionably to the Paucity or Plenty of their People, and not to the Sterility or Fruitfulness of their Lands.

Fourthly,

32 Sir JOSIAH CHILD,

Fourthly, I do NOT agree that our People in England are in any considerable Measure abated by Reason of our FOREIGN PLANTATIONS, but propose to prove the CONTRARY.

Fifthly, I am of Opinion, that we had immediately before the Plague, many more People in England, than we had before the inhabiting of Virginia, New-England, Barbadoes, and the rest of our American Plantations.

The first PROPOSITION, That Lands, tho' in their nature excellently good, without Hands proportionable, will not enrich any Kingdom.

This first Proposition I suppose will readily be assented to by all judicious Persons, and therefore for the Proof of it, I shall only alledge a Matter of Fact.

The Land of *Palestine*, once the richest Countrey in the Universe, since it came under the *Turk's* Dominion, and consequently unpeopled, is now become the poorest.

Andaluzia and *Granada*, formerly wonderful rich, and full of good Towns, since dispeopled by the *Spaniard* by Expulsion of the Moors, many of their Towns and brave Countrey-Houses are fallen into Rubbish, and their whole Countrey into miserable Poverty, though their Lands naturally are prodigiously fertile.

A Hundred other Instances of Fact might be given to the like Purpose.

The second PROPOSITION, Whatever tends to the populating of a Kingdom, tends to the Improvement of it.

The former Proposition being granted, I suppose this will not be denied, and the Means is good Laws, whereby any Kingdom may be populated and consequently enriched.

The third PROPOSITION, That most Nations in the civiliz'd Parts of the World, are more or less rich or poor, proportionable to the Paucity or Plenty of their People.

This third is a Consequent of the two former Propositions: And the whole World is a Witness to the Truth

Truth of it. The seven united Provinces are certainly the most populous Tract of Land in Christendom, and for their Bigness undoubtedly the richest. *England* for its Bigness, except our Forests, Wastes, and Commons, which by our Laws and Customs are barred from Improvement, I hope it yet a more populous Countrey than *France*, and consequently richer; I say in Proportion to its bigness: *Italy* in like Proportion more populous than *France*, and richer, and *France* more populous and richer than *Spain*, &c.

The fourth PROPOSITION, *I do not agree that our People in England are in any considerable Measure abated, by Reason of our Foreign Plantations, but propose to prove the contrary.*

This I know is a controverted Point, and do believe where there is one Man of my Mind there may be a Thousand of the contrary; but I hope when the following Grounds of my Opinion have been thoroughly examin'd, there will not be so many Dissenters.

That very many People now go, and have gone from this Kingdom almost every Year for these sixty Years past, and have and do settle in our Foreign Plantations, is most certain. But the first Question will be, whether if *England* had no Foreign Plantations for those People to be transported unto, they could or would have stay'd and liv'd at Home with us?

I am of opinion they never would nor could.

To resolve this Question we must consider what Kind of People they were, and are, that have and do transport themselves to our Foreign Plantations.

New-England (as every one knows) was originally inhabited, and hath since successively been replenish'd, by a Sort of People call'd *Puritans*, which could not conform to the Ecclesiastical Laws of *England*; but being wearied with Church Censures and Persecutions, were forc'd to quit their Father's Land, to find out new Habitations, as many of them did in *Germany* and *Holland*, as well as *New-England*; and had there not been a *New-England* found for some

34 Sir JOSIAH CHILD

of them, *Germany* and *Holland* probably had receiv'd the rest: But old *England* to be sure had lost them all.

Virginia and *Barbadoes* were first peopled by a Sort of loose vagrant People, vicious and destitute of Means to live at Home (being either unfit for Labour, or such as could find none to employ themselves about, or had so misbehav'd themselves by Whoring, Thieving, or other Debauchery, that none would set them on work) which Merchants and Masters of Ships by their Agents (or Spirits as they were call'd) gather'd up about the Streets of *London* and other Places, cloath'd and transported to be employ'd upon Plantations; and these, I say, were such as, had there been no *English* Foreign Plantation in the World, could probably never have liv'd at Home to do Service for their Countrey, but must have come to be hang'd or starv'd, or died untimely of some of those miserable Diseases, that proceed from Want and Vice; or else have sold themselves for Soldiers, to be knock'd on the Head, or starv'd, in the Quarrels of our Neighbours, as many Thousands of brave *Englishmen* were in the low Countries, as also in the Wars of *Germany*, *France*, and *Sweden*, &c. or else if they could by begging, or otherwise, arrive to the Stock of half a Crown to waft them over to *Holland*, become Servants to the *Dutch*, who refuse none.

But the principal Growth and Increase of the aforesaid Plantations of *Virginia* and *Barbadoes* happen'd in, or immediately after, our late Civil Wars, when the worsted Party by the Fate of War being depriv'd of their Estates, and having some of them never been bred to Labour, and others made unfit for it by the lazy Habit of a Soldier's Life, there wanting Means to maintain them all abroad with his Majesty, many of them betook themselves to the aforesaid Plantations, and great Numbers of *Scotch* Soldiers of his Majesty's Army, after *Worcester* Fight, were by the then prevailing Powers voluntarily sent thither.

Another

Another great Swarm, or Accession of new Inhabitants to the aforesaid Plantations, as also to *New-England*, *Jamaica*, and all other his Majesty's Plantations in the *West-Indies*, ensued upon his Majesty's Restauration; when the former prevailing Party being by a divine Hand of Providence brought under, the Army disbanded, many Officers displac'd, and all the new Purchasers of publick Titles dispossess'd of their pretended Lands, Estates, &c. many became impoverish'd, destitute of Employment; and therefore such as could find no Way of living at Home, and some which fear'd the Re-establisment of the Ecclesiastical Laws, under which they could not live, were forc'd to transport themselves or sell themselves for a few Years, to be transported by others to the Foreign *English* Plantations: The constant Supply that the said Plantations have since had, hath been such vagrant loose People, as I have before mention'd, pick'd up, especially about the Streets and Suburbs of *London* and *Westminster*, and Malefactors condemn'd for Crimes, for which by the Law they deserv'd to die; and some of those People call'd Quakers, banish'd for meeting on Pretextes of religious Worship.

Now if from the Premises it be duly consider'd what Kind of Persons those have been, by which our Plantations have at all Times been replenish'd: I suppose it will appear that such they have been, and under such Circumstances, that if his Majesty had had no Foreign Plantations, to which they might have resorted, *England* however must have lost them.

To illustrate the Truth whereof a little further, let us consider what Captain *Graunt* the ingenious Author of the Observations upon the Bills of Mortality saith, p. 76. and in other Places of his Book concerning the City of *London*; and it is not only said, but undeniably prov'd, viz. that the City of *London*, let the Mortality be what it will, by Plague or otherwise, repairs its Inhabitants once in two Years. And p. 101. again, if there be encouragement for a hundred Persons in *London* (that is, a way

how a hundred may live better than in the Countrey) the evacuating of a fourth or third Part of that Number must soon be supplied out of the Countrey, who in a short Time remove themselves from thence hither so long, until the City, for want of Receipt and Encouragement, refuses them.

First, What he hath prov'd concerning *London*, I say of *England* in general; and the same may be said of any Kingdom or Countrey in the World.

Such as our Employment is for People, so many will our People be; and if we should imagin we have in *England* Employment but for one Hundred People, and we have born and bred amongst us a Hundred and fifty People; I say the fifty must away from us, or starve or be hang'd to prevent it, whether we had any Foreign Plantations or not.

Secondly, If by Reason of the Accommodation of living in our Foreign Plantations, we have evacuated more of our People than we should have done if we had no such Plantations, I say with the aforesaid Author in the Case of *London*; and if that Evacuation be grown to an Excess (which I believe it never did barely on the Account of the Plantations) that Decrease would procure its own Remedy; for much Want of People, if our Laws gave Encouragement, would procure us a Supply of People without the Charge of breeding them, as the *Dutch* are, and always have been supplied in their greatest Extremities.

Object. I. But it may be said, Is not the Facility of being transported into the Plantations, together with the enticing Methods customarily us'd to persuade People to go thither, and the Encouragement of living there with a People that speak our Language, strong Motives to draw our People from us; and do they not draw more from us than otherwise would leave us, to go into Foreign Plantations where they understand not the Language?

I answer first, it is not much more difficult to get a Passage to *Holland*, than it is to our Plantations.

Secondly, Many of those that go to our Plantations, if they could not go thither, would and must

go into Foreign Countries, tho' it were ten times more difficult to get thither than it is; or else, which is worse (as hath been said) would adventure to be hang'd, to prevent begging or starving, as too many have done.

Thirdly, I do acknowledge that the Facility of getting to the Plantations, may cause some more to leave us, than would do if they had none but Foreign Countries for Refuge: But then if it be consider'd, that our Plantations spending mostly our *English* Manufactures, and those of all Sorts almost imaginable, in egregious Quantities, and employing near two Thirds of all our *English* Shipping, do therein give a constant Sustenance to, it may be, two Hundred Thousand Persons here at Home; then *I must needs conclude upon the whole Matter, that we have not the fewer, but the more People in England by Reason of our English Plantations in America.*

Object. II. But it may be said, is not this inferring and arguing against Sense and Experience? Doth not all the World see that the many noble Kingdoms of *Spain*, in *Europe*, are almost depopulated and ruinated, by Reason of their Peoples flocking over to the *West-Indies*? And do not all other Nations diminish in People after they become possess'd of Foreign Plantations.

Ans. I. I answer with Submission to better Judgments, that in my Opinion contending for Uniformity in Religion hath contributed ten Times more to the depopulating of *Spain* than all the *American* Plantations: What was it but that, which caused the Expulsion of so many Thousand *Moors*, who had built and inhabited most of the chief Cities and Towns of *Andaluzia*, *Granada*, *Aragon*, and other Parts? What was it but that and the Inquisition, that hath and doth daily expel such vast Numbers of rich *Jews* with their Families and Estates into *Germany*, *Italy*, *Turky*, *Holland*, and *England*? What was it but that, which caus'd those vast and long Wars between that King and the low Countries, and the Effusion of so much *Spanish* Blood and
Treasure,

Treasure, and the final Loss of the seven Provinces; which we now see so prodigious rich, and full of People, while *Spain* is empty and poor, and *Flanders* thin and weak, in continual Fear of being made a Prey to their Neighbours?

Secondly, I answer, we must warily distinguish between Countrey and Countrey; for tho' Plantations may have drain'd *Spain* of People, it does not follow that they have or will drain *England* or *Holland*; because where Liberty and Property are not so well preserv'd, and where Interest of Money is permitted to go at twelve *per Cent.* there can be no considerable Manufactures, and no more of Tillage and Grazing, than, as we proverbially say, will keep Life and Soul together; and where there is little Manufacturing, and as little Husbandry of Lands, the Profit of Plantations, *viz.* the greatest Part thereof, will not redound to the Mother Kingdom, but to other Countries, wherein there are more Manufactures and Productions from the Earth; from hence it follows, Plantations thus manag'd, prove Drains of the People from their Mother Kingdom; whereas Plantations belonging to Mother-Kingdoms or Countries, where Liberty and Property is better preserv'd, and Interest of Money restrain'd to a low Rate, the Consequence is, that every Person sent abroad with the Utensils he is constrain'd to employ, or that are employ'd with him; I say in this Case we may reckon, that for Provisions, Cloaths, and Household-goods, Seamen, and all others employ'd about Materials for Building, Fitting, and Victualling of Ships, every *Englishman* in *Barbadoes* or *Jamaica* creates Employment for four Men at Home.

Thirdly, I answer, That *Holland* now sends as many, and more People, to reside yearly in their Plantations, Fortresses, and Ships in the *East-Indies* (besides many into the *West-Indies*) than *Spain*; and yet is so far from declining in the Number of their People at Home, that it is evident they do monstrously increase: And so, I hope, under the next Head to prove that *England* hath constantly increas'd in People

ple at Home, since our Settlement upon Plantations in *America*, altho' not in so great a Proportion as the *Dutch*.

The fifth PROPOSITION, *I am of Opinion, that we had immediately before the late Plague, more People in England, than we had before the inhabiting of NEW-ENGLAND, VIRGINIA, BARBADOES, &c.*

The Proof of this at best, I know, can but be conjectural; but in Confirmation of my Opinion, I have, I think, of my Mind, the most industrious *English* Calculator this Age hath produc'd in publick, viz. Captain *Graunt* in the foremention'd Treatise, p. 88. his Words are "Upon the whole
"Matter we may therefore conclude, that the People of the whole Nation do increase, and consequently the Decrease of *Winchester, Lincoln, and*
"other like Places, must be attributed to other
"Reasons than that of refurnishing *London* only.

Secondly, It is manifest by the aforesaid worthy Author's Calculations, that the Inhabitants of *London*, and Parts adjacent, have increas'd to almost double within these sixty Years; and that City hath usually been taken for an Index of the whole.

I know it will be said, that altho' *London* have so increas'd, other Parts have so much diminish'd, whereof some are named before; but if to answer the Diminution of the Inhabitants in some particular Places, it be consider'd how others are increas'd, viz. *Yarmouth, Hull, Scarborough, and other Ports in the North; as also Liverpool, Westchester and Bristol, Portsmouth, Lime, and Plimouth;* and withal, if it be consider'd what great Improvements have been made these last sixty Years upon breaking up and inclosing of Wastes, Forrests, and Parks, and draining of the Fens, and all those Places inhabited and furnish'd with Husbandry &c. then I think it will appear probable, that we have in *England* now, at least had before the late Plague, more People than we had before we first enter'd upon Foreign Plantations, notwithstanding likewise the great Numbers of Men which have issued from us into
Ireland;

40 Sir JOSIAH CHILD, &c.

Ireland; which Countrey, as our Laws now are, I reckon not among the Number of Plantations profitable to *England*, nor within the Limits of this Discourse, tho' peradventure something may be picked out of these Papers, which may deserve Consideration in Relation to that Countrey.

But it may be said, if we have more People now than in former Ages, how came it to pass that in the Times of King *Henry IVth* and *Vth*, and other Times formerly, we could raise such great Armies, and employ them in Foreign Wars, and yet retain a sufficient Number to defend the Kingdom, and cultivate our Lands at Home.

I answer, First the Bigness of Armies is not always a certain Indication of the Numerousness of a Nation, but sometimes rather of the Nature of the Government, and Distribution of the Lands: As for Instance: Where the Prince and Lords are Owners of the whole Territory, altho' the People be thin, the Armies upon Occasion may be very great, as in *East-India*, *Turky*, and the Kingdoms of *Fesse* and *Morocco*, where *Falfelet* was lately said to have an Army of one Hundred and Fifty or two Hundred Thousand Men, altho' every Body knows that Countrey hath as great a Scarcity of People as any in the World: But since Freeholders are so much increas'd in *England* and the servile Tenures alter'd, doubtless it is more difficult, as well as more chargeable, to draw great Numbers of Men into Foreign Wars.

Since the Introduction of the new Artillery of Powder, Shot, and Fire-Arms into the World, all War is become rather an Expence of Money than Men; and Success attends those that can most and longest spend Money, rather than Men; and consequently Princes Armies in *Europe* are become more proportionable to their Purfes than to the Number of their People.

F I N I S.



